1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
~~AF15~~ AF16

527 796 These are the festivals that have retained the most significance for the Chinese farmer into modern times. Many of them have changed drastically through time, and we shall shortly see that the Chinese Communists are greatly altering the meaning and symbolism of those few which have been allowed to survive.

585 In addition to the annual festivals, the farmer's life of toil may be relieved by ceremonial family events. For a family with resources or the ability to borrow them, a wedding meant a great feast and ample wine; even the poorest families often went heavily into debt to make a marriage ceremony festive. Practical jokes were played on the bridegroom, traditional songs were sung, and the guests, particularly the men, thoroughly enjoyed themselves.[10] The births of male children were often celebrated as were the betrothals and other milestones of family and individual life.

527 In modern times the government of the Republic of China decreed certain national holidays, but these were little observed by the farm villages.

536 In addition to these occasions for

10. For a description of wedding celebrations in Yunnan in the 1940's cf. Hsü, op. cit., pp. 93-98.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

and the announcement of the date to friends is *sïing* 送 *nien-yüeh*. This may be sent some months beforehand, after which presents are sent in, accompanied with music and flags. 584

When the date of the marriage is fixed the times for the following are also arranged: the day for cutting the bride's clothing; the day for placing the bed in position; the hour for 開臉 *k'ai lien*, or pulling out the hair on brow and neck to make the bride look older; and the time for putting up her hair. Till marriage all girls wear the hair in a queue: just before marriage it is put up in a coil at the back of the head. In asking if a girl is engaged it is common to ask if she has put her hair up or not, 上梳 *shang liu*. Times are also fixed for treading on the bushel; when she shall take leave of the family idols; when she must leave the parental roof; when she shall worship at the family shrine in her new home; and when the bridal cup shall be shared by the young couple. This partaking of the cup is called *chiao pei chiu* 交杯酒; it may be a cup of wine, tea or not a cup at all but a piece of squash, which they pull apart and both eat; it is their mutual pledge. All these times are fixed by the astrologer, are written on red paper and are announced to the bride's parents when the presents are sent, so that they may prepare accordingly. 585

Furniture, (chairs, bed, cupboard, etc.), are prepared by the bride's parents, quality and quantity depending on the family's means. The things are often given over to the bridegroom's representatives some days before the wedding, so that the bed may be placed in position on a lucky day.

The wedding things include tea-cups and tea-pot, flower vases, clothing for bride and bridegroom, etc., etc. A well-to-do bride will perhaps have hundred or more garments, besides bedding, curtains, mirrors, etc., more than she can use in a lifetime. The silversmith has to make bangles, chains, earrings etc., and so great is the expense of marrying a girl off that the saying goes, *ch'ien nü ju fên chia* 遣女如分家, "Marrying a daughter is like dividing the inheritance."

In some places some young, fat pigs are driven along together with the bridal outfit; in other parts animals of various kinds are sent afterwards as part of the dowry.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

585 The bridegroom's parents invite his friends for the night before the marriage 花夜 *hua yeh*: they dress him, put on his ceremonial hat, deck his hair with flowers, put red cloth round his shoulders, and afterwards, in good families, he feasts them. Then he makes obeisance to his parents and worships at the family altar.

When the wedding day has come the groom's friends invoke the family gods and send off the middleman, accompanied by a relative, to bring home the bride, 娶親 *ch'ü ch'in*. They take with them a flowered sedan-chair, a band of flute-players with gongs, flags, and ceremonial umbrellas. They take besides the following articles: two eggs, to comfort the bride's forehead after the pulling out of the hair; two plaits of hair to be used in putting up the bride's hair, to make it look more; a large sheet of red paper to cover the bushel on which she must tread; a large piece of red cloth or silk for a veil; one big and one small comb, said to be used only this once; a bundle of five-coloured silk threads for dressing the bride's hair; a pot of oil for her toilet, a red cord for her hair, cosmetics, colouring for the lips, bandages for the feet, etc. These all go before or with the deputation which fetches the bride. The materials for her dresses or money to buy them are delivered earlier unless other arrangements have been made, but generally the bride's home provides most of her clothing and ornaments.

She takes leave of her ancestors 拜家神 *pai chia-shên*, by worshipping at the family shrine, and 辭祖宗 *tz'ŭ tsu-tsung*, and makes obeisance to her parents. The mistress of ceremonies throws down a bundle of chopsticks 丟筷子 *tiu k'uai-tzŭ* before the altar as evidence that the bride renounces her maiden home and will henceforth eat the rice of another.

Then the bride is dressed, on a carpet, and under a canopy of red cloth; the materials just brought from the bridegroom's home being used.

Her toilet finished, and the veil being put over her, a bushel full of unhulled rice is placed in the doorway and covered with red paper, and she is made to tread on it, 出閣踏斗 *ch'u kuo t'a tou*. After this she has to be carried

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

out and put into the flowered chair at the door. The unwillingness of brides at this point has become proverbial,—*na-ko hsin-jên k'ên shang chiao* 那個新人肯上轎. "What bride was ever willing to enter the chair?" 585

She carries in the chair with her a foot-rule, scissors, a brass mirror and some five-coloured threads: these are to protect her from demons on the road. She is tied in, and often locked in, the key being carried by the middleman or by the bridegroom's relative who has come with him.

To sit in the flowery chair makes the day of a lifetime for many a bride; and if there is only a short distance to go, they will often wish to be carried round the neighbourhood in this way, with the music, flags and umbrellas, that it may not be said of them in after years that they came in a common chair.

Before this chair is sent to bring the bride the bridegroom sacrifices to it, a stick of incense is placed at each of the four chair-poles, wine is poured on the ground at each corner, while someone kneels and worships the chair lest the *hsin-jên sha* 親人煞 the evil influences of brides who have used the chair before should still adhere to it.

On reaching the door of her new home the bride finds a table on which is a measure of rice with candles and incense stuck in it. The master of ceremonies calls out 女家車馬請回轉男家車馬出來迎. "Bridal chariots please return: bridegroom's chariots come forth and receive." It is supposed that the spirits of her home escort her so far, but on entering the house she comes under the guardianship of the spirits of her husband's home.

She is received by a specially appointed person, who receives the key, gets her out of the chair and leads her to the chief room in her new home. The bridegroom, escorted by his friends, soon appears and the marriage ceremony is performed. Two candles are lighted on the altar, and the pair kneel and worship Heaven and Earth and their ancestors. They then salute one another with a bow, and at this point the husband may lift the veil and look on his bride's face for the first time.

B. Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

585 A youth then carries the two candles from the altar into the *tung fang* 洞房 nuptial chamber very carefully, not changing the right and left hand position of the two, and letting nothing befall them. Then the groom leads the bride into this chamber, and they drink together the nuptial cup 交杯酒 *chiao pei chiu*. The candles are allowed to burn out. If that on the left goes out first the husband will die first; if that on the right, the wife will be first to die. A light is kept in the room all night with the idea that there will be continuous light in the home and always someone to attend to the family altar and the ancestral sacrifices.

When the pair have had a little time together they return to the chief room, where people come in turn to offer congratulations. A good deal of importance is attached to priority in doing this. Rich persons with large families are preferred. No widow or widower would be allowed to escort or receive, or to be first in congratulating. The guests bow, while the newly wedded couple kneel and knock their heads on the ground 磕頭 *k'o t'ou*.

At the feast which follows, men and women sit separate. The bride eats nothing the first day in her new home. All who have given presents are invited and regard it as a right.

In the evening the intimate friends of the bridegroom enter the private apartments, examine the bride's hands and feet, make rude remarks about her clothing, ability, general appearance, etc. Her clothing will be examined and tried on, but she must sit still through it all and say nothing. About midnight the visitors depart.

On or about the third day the bride returns to her parents' home, accompanied by her husband. Day and hour are fixed by the wife's parents, who send someone to meet them. A feast is prepared and guests invited to meet the bridegroom. If it rains on that day it is said the bridegroom rides a dog. The same is said of the bride if it rains on the wedding day.

There is a table with wine at the door of the bride's old home, "to stop the horses of the bridegroom," and he has almost always to drink before he can enter the house.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

The bride returns then to her new home for some ten days, and much of her future happiness depends on the way this time is passed. Then she goes to her old home for a stay of ten days, *shua shih* 耍十 or ten days' play; after which her new duties begin in earnest. 585

At the New Year the couple make presents to the husband's father, and again at the season for planting rice they send him wine; and this is the last of the marriage formalities.

The following proverbs refer to young wives 男教嬰孩女教初來. "The best time to teach a boy is when he is a child; the best time to teach a girl is when she is newly married." And 三天孩子娘慣的三天媳婦婆慣的 "In three days a mother can spoil a child, and in three days a mother-in-law can spoil a daughter-in-law." 581

Sometimes a girl is sent to the house of her mother-in-law while still a child, and grows up beside her future husband till they are marriageable. This class of marriage is much looked down upon by most people. 584

When a widow re-marries the terms used are *ch'u hsing* 出姓, depart from the name; *ch'u mên* 出門, to go out of the door; *tsai chia* 再嫁 to marry again; *tsai chiao* 再醮 to drink again (the nuptial cup). 587

Her step-children call her *hou mu* 後母 or *chi mu* 繼母.

Marrying concubines is very common in West Ssŭch'uan, 接小 *chieh hsiao* or 娶妾 *ch'ü ch'ieh*. The limit in each case depends on the man and his purse. The saying runs 有志男兒接三妻. "The resolute man marries three wives." Of these concubines three are called wives, the fourth a concubine, the fifth and sixth are slaves, the seventh and eighth are big and little maids.

Sometimes a woman takes a husband to her home 倒住苗 *tao chu miao*. This is a remnant of the polyandry of the tribes. 588